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indicative of the elevated and noble spirit of the whole work, we quote a few sentences from its close :

The insignificance of man disappears in the conscious service of his Creator, the hope of the eternal kingdom of God gives meaning to the vanity of life. . . . In whatever way . . . and to whatever extent the kingdom of God finds its present realization now on earth—and we are here as Christians to realize it in as many ways and as fully as it is given us to do—Christian faith and hope, moral faith in God, can never dispense with the promise of God's eternal kingdom, can never cease to enthrone it as Christian faith and hope have continuously and in all ages enthroned it, high above all temporal embodiments of the reign of Christ on earth, as the supreme goal of endeavor, as the ultimate object of desire and prayer. . . . Within and without, the higher we set our aim, the more earnestly we seek the kingdom of God, the more certainly will failure mock and humble us ; the more certainly must we be prepared to witness the frustration of the highest hopes we have cherished, the apparent downfall of causes with which our most sacred convictions are intimately concerned, and to bear the galling shame of personal self-reproach. The passion and the cross, the dereliction and the cry of death, must enter into our individual experience before we can endure with cheerful courage, confident in the joy that is set before us. In these great facts of redemption love challenges love, and assures us that love is never failure, and that to the great treasure-house of God's love no sacrifice is intrusted in vain. *There* is the link, the underlying unity between the kingdom for which we are to strive on earth, and the kingdom that lies above and independent of our efforts or failures, eternal in the heavens.

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DAS WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS. Sechzehn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Facultäten im Wintersemester 1899–1900 an der Universität Berlin gehalten. Von ADOLF HARNACK. Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. v+189. M. 3.50; akademische Ausgabe, M. 1.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY? By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated into English by THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. New York: Putnam's; London: Williams & Norgate. First edition, 1901, pp. 301; second edition, 1901, pp. 322.

DAS WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS. Vorlesungen im Sommersemester 1901 vor Studierenden aller Facultäten an der Universität Greifswald gehalten. Von HERMANN CREMER, ord. Professor der Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. vi+234. M. 3.50.

HARNACK'S WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS UND DIE RELIGIÖSEN STRÖMUNGEN DER GEGENWART. Von ERNST ROLFFS, Lic. Theol., Pastor in Stade. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Pp. 63. M. O. 80.

PROFESSOR HARNACK AND HIS OXFORD CRITICS. By THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. 91. 1s. 6d.

HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION OF HUMAN LIFE. By T. B. STRONG, B.D. London: Froude, 1902. Pp. vii+98. 1s. 6d., *net*.

WHEN Harnack, at the close of the nineteenth century, attracted a voluntary audience of six hundred students to his lectures on the theme, "What is Christianity?" it was regarded as an event full of significance. The publishing of these lectures was the occasion of a flood of controversial literature. The fifth German edition announces a sale of 26,000 copies; the book has already been translated into English, Danish, and Swedish, and is soon to appear in French, Italian, and Russian translations. Four closely printed pages in Rolffs's pamphlet are required for a bibliography of literature called out by Harnack's lectures. It is evident, therefore, that the great church historian has stated a theme of vital interest and importance.

The significance of the book lies in the fact that a professor in a theological faculty, a deep believer in Christianity, deliberately abandons the methods of appeal to authority and of philosophical argument for a purely historical inquiry. "Apologetics . . . must be kept quite separate from the purely historical question as to the nature of the Christian religion" (p. 7¹). Instead of attempting to demonstrate that Christianity is this or that, Harnack inquires what history has shown it to be. It is a frank substitution of modern scientific method for methods which have prevailed for nineteen centuries in theology.² Along with this adoption of modern critical method, Harnack presupposes the modern *Weltanschauung*. The old static conception of Christian truth as an unchanging tradition has given way to the evolutionary view. "The gospel did not come into the world as a statutory religion, and therefore none of the forms in which it assumed intel-

¹ All quotations are from the second English edition.

² In the preface to the fifth edition Harnack vigorously expresses his disappointment that his opponents have not appreciated this fundamental point. He accuses them of attempting to answer him by adopting presuppositions which no science today recognizes as legitimate.

lectual and social expression—not even the earliest—can be regarded as possessing a classical and permanent character.” (P. 204.) Nothing is more characteristic of the strictly scientific basis of the book than the recognition of the fact that all historical reality must be interpreted in terms of the law of causation. The old conception of miracles as violations of the uniformity of natural law is impossible for the modern man of scientific training. Hence no argument is based upon any miraculous event. (Pp. 27 ff.)

The limits of space forbid an extended account of the contents of the book.³ The first eight lectures deal with the origin of Christianity in the person and teaching of Christ, the remaining lectures with its historic development in the apostolic age, in Greek and Roman Catholicism and in Protestantism. As primary sources for our study of the life and teaching of Jesus we have only the synoptic gospels. The author of the fourth gospel “acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the discourses himself, and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations” (p. 22), and hence is a witness to the faith awakened by Jesus rather than to the historic teaching of Jesus. The religion which Jesus brought is summarized in the three conceptions: (1) the kingdom of God and its coming; (2) God the Father, and the infinite value of the human soul; (3) the higher righteousness and the law of love. Seldom does one see a more deeply spiritual interpretation of the teachings of Jesus concerning religion as a personal relationship to God our heavenly Father—a relationship which finds practical expression in love and righteousness. The bearings of the gospel on the specific problems of asceticism, the social question, public order, and civilization constitute one of the most suggestive and useful portions of the book. The sanity and insight of Jesus, as compared with some professed interpreters of the gospel, are strikingly illustrated. The section on “The Gospel and the Son of God, or the Christological Question” has aroused much adverse criticism because of the sentence: “The gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son” (p. 154). It should not be inferred from this, however, that Harnack denies the divinity of Christ. His critics identify the belief of the church with the teaching of Jesus. Any article of belief not found in the latter seems to them to have no legitimate place in dogmatics. For Harnack,

³Professor William Adams Brown, in the *Biblical World*, December, 1901, pp. 434–50, has given a full and sympathetic summary of the main positions taken by Harnack.

belief in the divinity of Christ rests upon our experience of his power in our lives. This is clearly brought out in his discussion of the apostolic age, where the "recognition of Jesus as the living Lord" is cited as the first mark of discipleship. The discussion of the resurrection of Christ has occasioned a similar criticism. He distinguishes between the Easter message and the Easter faith. The latter rests upon one's apprehension of the present power of Christ, not upon the acceptance of any physical details. "Either we must decide to rest our belief on a foundation unstable and always exposed to fresh doubts, or else we must abandon this foundation altogether, and with it the miraculous appeal to our senses" (p. 174). The difference between Harnack and his orthodox critics may be indicated as follows: They conceive of the miraculous as due to a higher physical force which suspends the lower physical laws of nature. Harnack finds the miraculous purely in the moral and spiritual realm. To be conscious of the presence of God or of the power of Christ in one's personal life is vastly more significant to him than to be convinced of an unusual and inexplicable event in nature. The former does not need the latter to authenticate its divine origin. One may deny biblical miracles and still believe in the miraculous. The development of Christianity in later centuries is formulated in a way familiar to readers of the author's *Dogmengeschichte*. The real task of Protestantism is not to establish a new orthodoxy in place of the old, but to liberate Christianity from its outgrown historical accretions that it may clothe itself in forms and ideals natural to the present age.

The reader who expects to find in the book a definite statement of the content of Christianity will doubtless be disappointed. Instead of a comprehensive definition, Harnack has given a series of suggestions. If there is no permanent and authoritative form of Christianity, if it is a transforming spirit rather than a stereotyped doctrine, it is contrary to the genius of the religion to give it exact formulation. This seems a grave defect to men who demand such exact definition. But to the thousands of honest, earnest souls to whom the historic creeds have become fetters, Harnack's message will be a proclamation of emancipation. It is significant that the adverse criticisms of the book have been directed almost exclusively to its omissions rather than to its positive assertions. In the latter there can be no question that the true spirit of the gospel is reproduced. The omissions consist of such elements as miracles, Christology, the physical resurrection of Christ, the recognition of the unique authority of the Bible, etc., elements

which are today productive more of theological controversy than of positive spiritual life. The preaching of today is attaching more and more importance to the elements of historic Christianity which Harnack emphasizes, and less and less to those which he omits. It is a cause for rejoicing that without any appeal to ecclesiastical authority, without any scholastic defense of traditional doctrines, the real heart of the gospel can be presented in so convincing and inspiring a form.

Certain inevitable limitations, however, grow out of the method and aim of the lectures. Perhaps the most serious of these is the fact that the difficulties which Harnack proposes to meet are intellectual rather than moral. His message is therefore only for those who are perplexed and bewildered in their thinking. For the man whose trouble is moral, who is in despair, not because he cannot think his way out, but because he cannot live rightly, the book will be of little assistance. For this reason the adherents of strict orthodoxy, who have no intellectual doubts, and the men whose chief concern is the conversion of sinners, see in the discussion only negation and compromise with secularism. For such Cremer's lectures on the same theme will seem much nearer to the truth. But it should be recalled that Harnack was consciously seeking to meet the needs of university students, for whom intellectual difficulties are of great concern. One can hardly imagine an audience of 600 students in Cremer's class-room. Finally, one cannot escape the feeling that after all Harnack has not been able to keep his discussion to purely historical lines. His radical treatment of the New Testament sources is due to his keen appreciation of the difficulties unearthed by modern critical research. But these difficulties did not exist for men in the first century. He has therefore portrayed for us the gospel tested and modified by modern criticism rather than the gospel as apprehended by a first-century mind. This treatment doubtless best serves the purpose which he had in view, but it is quite as truly a confession of faith as a historical survey. His critics have some reason to protest against some of his "historical" statements.

Cremer delivered his lectures confessedly as a refutation and correction of this type of "historical" method. To assume, as Harnack does, that modern skeptics are right and that the New Testament is wrong in the interpretation of the gospel seems to him a bit of dogmatism which vitiates the entire discussion. Cremer attempts to reproduce the genuine gospel of the New Testament. But if Harnack was wrong in building exclusively on the synoptic gospels, what shall we say when Cremer sees everything through the veil of Paulinism? The forgive-

ness of sins is for him the center of Christianity. Only God can forgive sins. But Jesus forgives our sins. Therefore Jesus is God. The deity of Christ is the *sine qua non* of Christianity. The bodily resurrection of Christ was the historic fact which convinced the disciples of his forgiving love when they had betrayed and forsaken him. The resurrection marks the climax in the miraculous course of redemption-history. Since then miracles have become less and less necessary to convince men of God's forgiving love. But without these biblical miracles as a historic basis of faith, Christianity would be impossible. While Cremer has probably given a more accurate historical picture than Harnack of the conception of Christianity in the first century, it is certain that his failure to appreciate modern scientific thought will make his message valuable only to those who live in an outgrown *Weltanschauung*.

Rolffs publishes in book form a series of articles, most of which appeared originally in the *Christliche Welt* in 1901. He selects typical criticisms of Harnack's book, and thus brings out the main characteristics of our age in regard to Christianity. Naumann, the Christian socialist, finds Harnack too vague and speculative. Christianity should proclaim a definite social program. Mehring, the social democrat, rejoices that Christianity has received its death-blow in the house of its professed friends. Von Hartmann, the metaphysician, objects to the positivistic tone which eliminates philosophy from the gospel. Various orthodox Lutherans accuse Harnack of destroying all objective basis for faith. These are some of the suggestive judgments which are here collected. Rolffs evaluates these various criticisms and thus gives an admirable survey of the complex structure of our modern life. The gospel must be preached in various forms, if it is to meet the needs of all men. Harnack has unquestionably done great service in representing one form of it himself, and in stimulating others to ask themselves what, after all, is the message of Christianity.

The English translator of Harnack's lectures takes three Oxford critics to task for the unfavorable judgments which they have uttered. Dr. Sanday, Dr. T. B. Strong, and Dr. Hastings Rashdall are cited as representatives of the type of theological scholarship prevalent in Anglican circles. Attention is called to the fact that, while Strauss's *Leben Jesu* was compelling German scholars to undertake a thorough and relentless examination of the historical basis of Christianity, Newman and his associates were instilling into English scholars an emotional reverence for ecclesiastical tradition. As a consequence, the

conclusions of German theologians grow out of a critical study of history, while the doctrines of most Oxford theologians are "the outcome of ecclesiastical prepossession, without doubt unconscious and perfectly sincere, rather than of historical insight" (p. 68). Mr. Saunders is an enthusiastic devotee of the German ideal and is unsparing in his exposure of the weak points in the arguments of his fellow-countrymen.

Dr. Strong attempts to follow the method of apologetic prevalent today, which sets forth the content of Christianity as its best defense. The human soul has certain definite needs. The religion which meets these needs completely is the absolute religion. If this be true of historical Christianity, we have our apologetic.

The characteristic feature of the book is the deliberate rejection of the critical method by which scholars today determine what is and what is not historical. "Historical" Christianity Dr. Strong assumes to be the "conception of Christianity which results from the frank acceptance of the books of the New Testament very much as they stand" (p. 2). The bulk of the discussion therefore consists in a summary of the teachings of the books of the New Testament. As a result of this study we have the following four cardinal doctrines: (1) the providential basis for Christianity in Judaism, (2) the equality of Christ with God, (3) the destruction of the power of sin through the death and resurrection of Christ, (4) the possibility of restored communion with God for men as the result of Christ's death (p. 79). These "facts" of Christianity, the author asserts, meet the needs of the soul. But the final chapter, instead of making clear how this occurs, is devoted to a criticism of those who forsake the "facts" of Christianity for "ideas." Harnack is singled out as the most brilliant modern representative of this kind of Gnosticism.

Admirable as is the task which Dr. Strong sets before himself, he has failed to meet the very conditions which his title implies. To ascertain the content of "historical" Christianity without the use of approved historical method must end in mere scholasticism. For example, to assign supreme importance to the "fact" of the resurrection of Christ without attempting to discuss the evidence for the fact, when that evidence presents so serious a problem for historians, is a way too short and easy to satisfy any earnest questioner. But even granting the legitimacy of his method, he fails to bring his ecclesiastically phrased doctrines into anything more than a theoretical relationship to life. It is all very well to insist upon the deity of Christ and the value of his death and resurrection. But unless these doctrines

are psychologically as well as theologically evaluated, they become mere shibboleths. The book thus ignores precisely those historical and psychological demands which are surely among the "needs of man," and which a scholar must frankly face if he is to commend himself to men of today.

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THE REASONABLENESS OF FAITH, AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D. D. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. Pp. iv + 309. \$1.25, *net*.

THE volume contains eighteen addresses in all, two of them being baccalaureates, and the others sermons delivered by the author to his own congregation in New York. In the first discourse (which gives its title to the volume) the author defines faith as "not adhesion to any credal statement, but vital obedience to, and trust in, a living man . . . who revealed the nature of man and the nature of God." His claim for the reasonableness of faith is that it is "the common possession of all men," needing only to be put into exercise, "a vast unused capacity inside all men." He calls it "a religious instinct," but adds that it "must be acquired by us as all other valuable qualities are, as the result of a system of competition." In brief it is "just belief in God—that he is good, not bad; loving, not indifferent; all-powerful, not powerless." His claim seems to be that such faith in God is as natural as seeing for one who is born with eyes. This constitutes its reasonableness. It is therefore of the utmost importance, and so obligatory.

This address was delivered to the students of Columbia University, among whom he doubtless supposed were some who needed to be persuaded that Christian faith is reasonable. Does the possession of a "religious instinct" supersede the need of proof? If this instinct is all we need for faith in Jesus, why is it not sufficient for faith in Buddha or Mohammed? Jesus gave reasonable proof that the testimony he bore respecting "the nature of man and the nature of God" was true. The same proof is available now, but Dr. Rainsford does not seem to have availed himself of it. The truths established by these proofs would form some kind of a "credal statement."

In some of the "other addresses" (dating from March, 1891, to December, 1898) certain views appear which have become associated with Dr. Rainsford's name in the popular mind. He is opposed to